

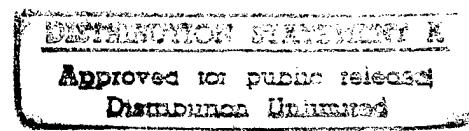
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No 2, February 1992

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Independence and Self-Reliance in Building and Defending the Country

*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 92 pp 3-4*

[Article published in FBIS-EAS-92-057, 24 Mar 92
pp 43-44]

Lesson of the Era

*923E0009A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 92 pp 5-9*

[Article by Lieutenant General Doan Chuong, deputy director of the Institute of Strategic Studies]

[Text] In November 1917, there were the "10 days that shook the world." In August 1991, there were the "six days that turned the world upside down" (19-24 August 1991). What has followed has rejected what came before, but the eternal significance of the October Revolution can never be negated. The Red Flag above the Kremlin was lowered on Christmas night 1991. But the light of that Red Flag has penetrated throughout the world and will live forever in the hearts of progressive men. But why did the great achievements of the world revolution collapse so quickly? This is a question that must be studied in depth.

During the revolution, "a day seemed like 20 years. But the Soviet Union, which had survived for almost 70 years, collapsed in just six days. Everything has a cause, and the cause of this is very complex. One possible explanation has to do with "termites in the house." Anyone who has had termites will understand that once termites have bored through the posts to the roof, collapse is inevitable. Second, a small error can lead to complete failure. If the basic line is wrong, the results will be immeasurable. Third, once there is internal disorder, destruction, and betrayal, the situation will become very dangerous. All of these factors added together increased the disaster many fold.

What about the collapse at the center of the revolution? This, too, is easy to understand. With respect to imperialism, in the past, England once declared that "the sun will never set on the British empire." Similarly, Hitler once said that "Germans are a superior race." And Japan talked about a Great East Asia. At the center of the counterrevolution today is the United States. In the past, it was Germany that was at the center of the revolution. But because of the betrayal by Bechstein and Kaosky at the Second International, the revolutionary center shifted to Russia and Lenin, the father of the world revolution. Today, that central position has been lost, there is nothing "anti-historical" about that. Revolutions wax and wane. That is natural.

The victories are lessons of victory, and the defeats are lessons of defeat. In any situation, if we can learn the lessons, that will be of great significance and contribute to completing the "encyclopedia" of the revolution. The collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet

Union is a major defeat for the revolution, and this will certainly bring major lessons of the era. It will be a long time before we can fully understand every aspect, but we can learn the following important lessons:

1. Clearly, the struggle to determine "who will beat who" is a necessary law of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. When socialism collapsed in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the imperialists and reactionaries all began shouting that "socialism is finished." Some people wonder if this is still the age of a transition to socialism? Actually, the age is an objective process of human society. It doesn't depend on the subjective desires of man. The political and social changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union show that the struggle to determine "who will defeat who" is still an essential law of the transitional period. The mutations between the two opposing poles in this struggle simply reflect a temporary change in the comparative balance of forces. This is not the final statement or the end of the struggle. A revolution does not take a straight path but is full of difficulties and sharp turns.

The present age began with the historical events of October 1917. For the first time, the working class and oppressed people rose up to liberate themselves and build a new society, a socialist society. Imperialism lost its important position. Forty imperialist countries joined together in an attempt to destroy socialism in its infancy, but they failed. That was their first defeat. During the Second World War, the imperialists initially attacked each other. Later on, they hoped to destroy socialism. But in the end, socialism developed to become a world system. Thus, they were defeated once again. In the wake of these bitter defeats, they learned the lessons, and so this time they have won a definite victory. As for the revolution, after winning a series of victories, subjectivism and a lack of vigilance arose. After 1959, people argued that socialism had won not only a complete victory but also an absolute victory. They said that communism could be established immediately during the lives of this generation. What they were saying was that there was no danger of a recovery by capitalism. Subjectivism and loss of vigilance are the real reasons for this defeat.

The elimination of socialism is the reason for the existence and the unchanging target of imperialism. The imperialists have been trying to hit this target using military and peaceful means and a combination of the two, with the difference being one of emphasis only. When they have held the military advantage, they have focused on using military means. They have used war and intentionally ignored other aspects. But they were defeated militarily and so the other aspects proved ineffective. After losing their military advantage, given the strategic balance that existed, particularly when they could make use of modern science and technology, the imperialists switched to using a strategy of peaceful change. They attacked socialism from within in coordination with imposing economic blockades and embargoes, making military threats, and applying pressure

from the outside. Of course, they never relaxed militarily, because bellicosity is the innate nature of imperialism.

In the long struggle to win independence and freedom, we have become very familiar with war and have much experience on this front. But for us, peaceful change is something very new.

At the same time, we lack specific and effective means to deal with this. From what has happened in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, it can be seen that the main formula of peaceful change is political pluralism in conjunction with a free market economy, with political pluralism being the break-through point. Actually, peaceful change is a peaceful counterrevolution. Its target is to seize power. It should be realized that the imperialists will pursue this strategy for a very long time "to the end." If they can't reach their goal during this generation, they will continue on so that this affects the next generation of cadres and people in the socialist countries. In peaceful change, political pluralism is the most destructive subterfuge. This is aimed at eliminating the Communist Party and preventing the Communist Party from holding power. The peaceful change strategy is very subtle and complex. On one hand, the imperialists have imposed an economic embargo, refusing to transfer capital or advanced technology. This has created obstacles for the socialist countries in economic and social development. At the same time, they have constantly made military threats and forced the socialist countries to spend huge sums of money on national defense. When necessary, they have carried on armed intervention and waged bold aggression. On the other hand, even more insidiously, they have launched a coordinated offensive on many fronts, the ideological, political, cultural, and information fronts. In an age in which there has been an information explosion, this integrated offensive has been very effective. Using modern means of information, they have spread propaganda about bourgeois democratic freedom and the practical way of life in the West. They have exaggerated the weaknesses and mistakes of socialism and encouraged dissension and conflict in the socialist countries on the issue of democratic freedom, economic issues, the standard of living, and ethnic and religious issues. They have raised the banner and created the forces of opposition within society, generated splits within the party, caused the party to make changes and change color, rendered the tools of dictatorship ineffective, disrupted security, and weakened the people's confidence in the leadership of the party and state. At the same time, the opposition forces have pressured the communist party in power to accept political pluralism and demanded so-called "free elections" in an effort to remove the Communist Party, seize power, and use this as a tool to restore capitalism.

2. We must build a socialist system in Vietnam that is strong and superior in order to win victory in the struggle to determine "who will defeat who." Socialism is not a mistake of history as the imperialists and reactionaries

claim. Rather, it is a necessary product of history. It is the result of mobilizing the laws of human society and the final rung of the ladder reached by man on a journey that has lasted thousands of years. The historical mission of socialism is to fully liberate society and man. But designing and building such a society is not easy. From a scientific and revolutionary ideal, socialism became a reality more than 70 years ago, and it became a world system more than 40 years ago. It has transformed many once backward countries into progressive countries, and some countries, such as the (former) Soviet Union, have become superpowers. It has proven its great strength in the tests of history. It has encouraged and opened a path for the liberation of the working class and oppressed peoples. With its real strength and with its world system, socialism has had a positive effect on world politics. The progressive changes of the era have all been influenced by socialism. It can be affirmed that socialism is the factor that will determine the direction of development of human society.

A highly centralized nature and an internationalist nature have been the strengths of socialism. These factors have manifested a positive effect in historical conditions in which imperialism has resisted fiercely. But the dialectic of things is that there is a very short distance between strength and weakness. Because centralization was made absolute and because this was used in the wrong place at the wrong time, democracy was limited and the ownership rights of the people were violated. Because the spirit of proletarian internationalism was misunderstood and used in a mechanical and rigid manner, doing things by starting from the special characteristics of each country was rejected. The misuse of internationalism has affected the right of national self-determination, led to dark nationalism, affected self-reliance, and created a psychology of dependence. A number of people have strongly emphasized the class struggle in conditions of encirclement and resistance—even though they were not vigilant enough—but slighted the economic forces and the development of the production forces. They have forgotten that, in the final analysis, economic strength is the basic factor for ensuring victory in the "who will defeat who" struggle.

Building socialism actually means building the ownership system of the laboring people, and that system must generate higher labor productivity if it is to defeat the old system. Real socialism was built in countries with low starting points, and the time frame has been short. Thus, it has been difficult to create higher labor productivity than in the old system. This is a limitation of the objective conditions. However, looking at the subjective aspects, speaking seriously, real socialism has many shortcomings and weaknesses in the spheres of ownership and labor productivity. Democracy and material and spiritual life are the two weaknesses of our system that the enemy has exploited. We realize that if the laboring people are not really masters and if their lives are filled with difficulties, it will be difficult to get them to take an interest in the system and resolutely build and

protect it. This is the real meaning of the point made by our forefathers: "It is the people who can push or overturn the boat." Our failure to do a good job with respect to ownership and the standard of living is not only a weakness frequently exploited by the enemy but also an objective environment that will give rise to bureaucratic centralism and corruption within the party and state apparatus. Thus, in order to oppose peaceful change and build a strong system, our party and state must give attention to these two key issues.

3. The lesson of all lessons is the issue of party building. The historical mission of the Communist Party is to lead socialist construction and defend socialism. In order to carry out this historical mission, the party must be strong politically, ideologically, and organizationally. Once it becomes the party that leads the regime, if it does not give attention to building things well, dangerous defects could easily arise. First, wherever and whenever individualism becomes involved in power, there will definitely be authoritarianism, paternalism, dogmatism, despotism, and personality cults. The organizational principles of the party are democratic centralism, collective leadership, and criticism and self-criticism. If these principles are not implemented seriously, that will open up a loophole for the rise and growth of opportunism. Opportunists will take the chance to slip in, gain power, and behave disgracefully. Second, the bureaucracy will be remote from the masses. The party and state apparatus and the mass organizations will be "bureaucratized," and this will give rise to systems and classes, have a great effect on internal democracy, and violate the ownership rights of the party members and laboring people. Commandism, authoritarianism, and oppression of the masses will cause some of the people to become more and more remote from the party. Many party members don't even know how to mobilize the masses in order to maintain discipline and struggle to bring about justice and implement the lines of the party. Third, when switching to a market mechanism, because of lax management, special rights and privileges (tied to power) and corruption can arise. A few degenerate and degraded cadres can seriously damage the party's reputation and weaken the people's confidence. These are the things that have eroded the leadership capabilities, combat strength, and political prestige of the party.

On the other hand, real life is posing very serious problems concerning living conditions and democracy at a time when people here are receiving information about the scientific and technical achievements, economic development, and standard of living of the capitalist countries. But the lack of correct understanding has caused confusion and illusions. Skepticism and vacillation provide fertile ground for the growth of democratic social movements. Overcoming conservatism and sluggishness and resolutely reforming and renovating things are objective necessities and urgent and vital problems. But we cannot reform and renovate things by changing direction, that is, by abandoning Marxism-Leninism, socialism, and the Communist Party, becoming reconciled with capitalism, and reaching a compromise with

imperialism. This new tide of opportunism is the chief culprit in the recent collapse of socialism. This tide is the natural ally of imperialism, and it is being fed and used by imperialism. Thus, opposing imperialism must be closely tied to opposing opportunism and vice versa.

Reality shows that the political, ideological, and cultural fronts are the burning fronts. The enemy is very steadfast ideologically. They will defend their values at all cost. They are savagely attacking socialism in every way possible and continue to lie openly. At the same time, many communists are wavering, making concessions, and giving in. They are withdrawing one step after another. They will be pushed against the wall and "swallowed whole." Concerning this, we must resolutely oppose the tendency toward bourgeois democratic liberalism, a pragmatic way of life, and manifestations of opportunism. These tendencies must be attacked. They must be attacked using integrated strength in a strict and uncompromising manner.

In order to carry out the above tasks well, above all, the party must constantly raise the level of intelligence, be sensitive to what is new, and hold fast to its principles in the struggle. Second, resolute steps must be taken to reorganize the party, expel opportunistic, corrupt, and degraded elements from the party, and do away with special rights and privileges. Using these methods, the confidence of the masses and the vitality of the party must be restored. Third, the organizational principles and activities of the party—democratic centralism, collective leadership, and criticism and self-criticism—must be implemented resolutely, and the positive nature, initiative, and creativity of the cadres and party members must be exploited. Party discipline must be maintained strictly, solidarity and unity within the party must be maintained, and manifestations of opportunism, factionalism, paternalism, dogmatism, localism, arbitrary liberalism, and lack of discipline must be opposed. Fourth, cadre work must be renovated, democracy must be manifested in selecting and using cadres, and cadres must be inspected and evaluated based on the actual activities of the cadres. The ranks of managerial cadres at the various echelons and strategic staff cadres must be maintained. At the same time, we must promptly discover and train many talented people for construction and development. Fifth, particular attention must be given to building party bases that are strong in all respects. The party bases are the organizations that implement the lines and policies of the party, and they are the link between the party and the masses. Only if the bases are strong will it be possible to create synchronized strength for the entire party and repel all of the attacks launched against the party by foreign forces. Everything depends on the trust of the people. We must conduct studies and create a system of confidence and control by the masses with respect to party members and the party bases.

In order to exploit the party's leadership strength, the first thing is to reform the state apparatus and improve

the party's leadership with respect to the state organizations. The goal of this is to enable our party and state to adhere to the central task, which is to lead economic development and expand the production forces based on a socialist orientation as mentioned in the party's Program and Strategy. In this, attention must be given to

closely coordinating strengthening the economy with implementing the social policies, ensuring social fairness and social progress, closely coordinating building and defending the fatherland, and maintaining the political, ideological, and organizational stability of the party and state.

Why Has Realist Socialism Collapsed in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union?

923E0009B *Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN*
in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 92 pp 10-13, 17

[Article by Song Tung, Ho Chi Minh City]

[Text] Mankind is witnessing a very important moment in time: a large part of the socialist world has collapsed! The imperialists are rejoicing at the collapse of the Communist Parties in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. They are predicting the annihilation of socialism throughout the world. In the ranks of revolutionaries, there are those who are wavering ideologically. Progressive people are stunned and wonder what path to take now.

In the face of this situation, the attitude of communists must be to face the truth squarely, analyze the situation in a dialectical and objective manner, determine and adhere to the truth, and struggle to uphold the truth. Asserting the future in an emotional and subjective manner is not enough.

Only with such a scientific attitude will we be able to discover the real causes of what has happened in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, learn the lessons, and implement correct measures to continue moving forward.

What are the real reasons for the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union?

Some say that this is the result of imperialist plots. That is correct, but it is not sufficient because that credits imperialism with strength that it does not have.

Socialist society came into being after the Russian October Revolution in 1917 opened a new era in the history of mankind and created a new and progressive social order. That was not a victory of the people of the Soviet Union alone. It was also a victory of the working class and laboring people throughout the world in the struggle against capitalism, and it was a great contribution to the revolution to liberate oppressed peoples, oppose the warlike and aggressive powers, and protect world peace.

Socialism scored its first victory in Russia, a country with a backward economy, and then gradually developed into a world system. Although it was always closely encircled by the imperialists, who were stronger on the military, economic, and scientific and technical fronts, socialism had a period of brilliant development. It saved mankind from the fascists and became the hope of all people wanting independence, freedom, and social progress.

For more than seven decades, imperialism has constantly looked for ways, including war, to annihilate socialism, but it has not succeeded. This shows the great vitality and lawful growth of socialism that no outside enemy can destroy.

Thus, the main reasons for the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union must be looked for from within, that is, from the "self-motivation" of this movement. When mobilized according to the laws, those internal factors stimulated revolutionary movement like a typhoon. And conversely, in specific historical conditions, when those internal factors were used contrary to the laws, they transformed the movement, quickly leading it into an impasse and to defeat and creating loopholes that internal and external enemies could use to launch attacks.

Communists believe that the recent defeats suffered by socialism are just temporary and that they must pay a heavy price for violating the laws. But laws are an objective phenomenon. Just because there are forces that do not want socialism does not mean that socialism can't continue to survive and develop. Moreover, even in the countries where socialism has suffered a temporary defeat, socialist ideas, with which the masses have been deeply imbued for several decades, continue on their necessary path of development, and there is no force that can eliminate them. The question is, Will communists bravely admit their mistakes and accept and use the objective laws in order to continue moving forward?

To do this, we must return to the basic problems of Marxist-Leninist theory. But when doing this, in order to determine the truth, we must heed the advice of Lenin: "We cannot regard the theory of Marx as something that is perfect and inviolate. We believe that this theory simply provides a foundation for science and that socialists must develop this even more in all respects if they want to keep from moving backwards in life." [Footnote 1] [Lenin, "Selected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, page 30]

For a long time now, people have been looking for a socialist model, but it can be said that no one has come up with an adequate model. In the world, there have been just experiments with models of paths to socialism. There have been stages in which the experiments have been successful, and there have been stages in which the experiments have failed.

Today, more than ever before, communists must learn the lessons of the movement and study the reasons for the successes and failures in order point in the right direction that will lead to socialism. Pointing out a direction does not mean putting forth a specific path in a rigid and subjective manner. In moving forward, life will eliminate the old cells and give birth to new cells in new environments. Communists must contribute to constantly developing Marxism-Leninist theory and enabling it to live forever.

After affirming that the target is to have a wonderful society, an independent and prosperous country, and a humane and just society in which people are free and happy, after setting such a general target, the key problem that must be studied and dealt with is how to hit that target?

Marxist-Leninist theory points out that to move from a capitalist society to a socialist society, society must pass through a transitional period.

Now that the victorious revolution has opened the way to socialism, the most important and urgent task of communists is to determine the nature, special characteristics, contents, and laws of the transitional period from a capitalist social system or capitalist currency system in one's country to a socialist system. Only in this way will it be possible to devise correct strategies and tactics and concrete positions, policies, and measures suited to one's country and to assemble forces to hit the target.

Lenin, through theory and real actions, developed Marxist theory. He creatively applied that theory to the Russian revolutionary movement. He pointed the direction that Russia had to take and set a bright example for the world revolution.

With respect to "economic and social structure, Marxist-Leninist theory helps us understand the natural development process of human society and the transition of a society from one structure to a higher structure."

Marx determined that the basic law of social development is that production relationships must be in accord with the standards and nature of the production forces (which will be shortened here to "law of accord"). This law stipulates that capitalist society will be replaced by socialist society. Once the capitalist production forces reach a higher level of development, capitalist production relationships, which will no longer be suitable, will have to be destroyed.

Lenin developed the theory of Marx. He pointed out that during the imperialist period, a socialist revolution can succeed at the weakest points in the imperialist chain even if the capitalist economy there is not highly developed.

Reality proved that Lenin's argument was correct. The Russian October Revolution succeeded, and after that, a number of countries that were economically undeveloped carried out successful socialist revolutions.

The Russian October Revolution succeeded, but Russia does not have a (perfect) socialist system because the "law of accord" there is still administered. There cannot be a fully socialist production relationship without a production force that has high standards and that is highly socialized. Because of the affects of the above law, with the encouragement of subjective factors and of the revolutionary class that seized power, the internal movement of the two opposing aspects—production relations and production forces—must continue until there is a production force that has high standards and that is highly socialized and until there is a suitable progressive production relationship. Only then can it be said that the "law of accord" has been implemented. That will mark the end of the transitional period and the birth of socialist production formulas.

During their lives, Marx and Engels did not have sufficient experience to say much about the problem of a transitional period, but they did mention an important characteristic of this. Marx wrote: "Between a capitalist society and a communist society, there will be a period of revolutionary change from one society to another society. Corresponding to that period will be a period of political transition. During that period, the state will be revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." [Footnote 2] [Marx and Engels, "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, volume 4, page 491]

During Lenin's time, with his experience in building socialism in Russia, Lenin was able to study the transitional period more concretely. Lenin wrote: "Theoretically, there can be no doubt that between capitalism and communism, there will definitely be a transitional period. That period will contain the special characteristics of both of those economic and social structures. That transitional period will be a period of struggle between capitalism, which is in its death throes, and communism, which is coming into being. Or to put it another way, this will be a period of struggle between capitalism, which has been defeated but which has not yet been completely eliminated, and communism, which has come into being but which is still very weak." [Footnote 3] [Lenin, "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1979, volume 39, page 309]

In another place, Lenin wrote: "To be victorious and to establish and solidify socialism, the proletariat must complete two tasks as one. First, they must use their selfless heroic spirit in the revolutionary struggle against capitalism in order to attract the working masses and exploited people. They must attract, organize, and lead them in order to topple the bourgeoisie and completely crush all resistance by the bourgeoisie. Second, they must enable all the working people, all exploited people, and the petty bourgeoisie to follow them in building a new economy, a new labor discipline, and a new labor organization with the ability to coordinate the newest achievements of capitalist science and technology with the assembly of self-conscious laborers, people who are creating large-scale socialist production." [Footnote 4] [Lenin, "Ibid., page 20]

Lenin led the Russian people in virtually completing the first task, defeating the bourgeoisie in the struggle against armed intervention and a very violent civil war.

As for the second task, that is, building the economy, Lenin's leadership showed an unusual spirit of bravery and creativity that people today need to study.

After the victory of the October Revolution, Russia wanted to advance directly to building communism, a society regulated by centralized planning, with self-government tied to non-banking and non-currency mechanisms based on public ownership of the means of production (abolishing commerce, nationalizing small industry and handicrafts, establishing measures to requisition the grain, preparing to abolish currency, and so

on). The result was an economic crisis following in the wake of the political crisis. Lenin quickly realized that a mistake had been made and took quick action to correct this mistake. He wrote: "On the economic front, because of the decision to switch to communism, during the 1921 spring season, we suffered a serious defeat. That defeat was manifested by the fact that our economic policy became entangled in the situation, in its superstructure. It was separated from the base and did not lead to expanding the production forces, which our party's program regarded as a fundamental and pressing task." [Footnote 5] [Ibid., pages 198, 199] After that, he wrote: "The period must show that these are now major political tasks and that the time has come to carry out these tasks in actual practice. The political achievements of the Soviet regime will be lost completely unless steps are taken to enable those achievements to stand firmly on an economic base. To date, we do not have such a base. This is the task to which we must now turn our attention." [Footnote 6] [Ibid., page 212]

The New Economic Policy came into being. That was a system of new viewpoints and ideas covering all aspects, from issues having to do with principles to very specific measures that Russia had to implement during the transitional period. Lenin concretely analyzed the special characteristics of the Russian economy at that time and arrived at conclusions concerning the new viewpoints having to do with production relationships, such as economic elements (the ownership system), commodity production and circulation, and economic relations between the classes, particularly between the proletariat and the small producers (small peasants) and between the proletariat and the domestic and international bourgeoisie. He stressed the role of state capitalism, the need to renovate the management mechanism based on economic accounting, and the need for financial, tax, credit, and currency reform.

Although he stressed the need to make economic changes, Lenin did not ignore the political problems. He discussed the aspects of the superstructure that needed to be reorganized and the conditions for expanding the economic base, particularly reforming the apparatus of the party and state. He discussed revising the erroneous ideas concerning the nationality policy (he criticized the chauvinism of the large countries and national bourgeoisie ideology) and mentioned the requirements concerning educating the cadres, struggling against leftist and rightist thinking, arrogance, subjectivism and voluntarism, remoteness from the masses, and so on.

It can be said that through the New Economic Policy, Lenin's policy was that Russia had to go through a long transitional period, and during that period, the basic laws had to be thoroughly understood in order to resolve

the serious conflicts in society. In particular, the production relationships had to be adjusted in accord with the development needs of the production forces, and the superstructure had to be adjusted accordingly so that it could stimulate the development of the economic base.

The New Economic Policy achieved good results for Russian society in the years that followed.

Unfortunately, after Lenin died, the New Economic Policy was abandoned, and there was forced collectivization. The management mechanism became bureaucratic in nature, and the socialist political system was transformed. Socialist democracy and law were violated, and the nationalities policy was distorted. Such shortcomings continued to pile up, with the result that the violations of the basic laws became even more serious.

In the face of this situation, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union advocated reforming and improving things. But in the process of making reforms and improvements, the party made more mistakes and became bogged down in a new subjective voluntarism, dogmatism, and extremism. It violated many of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and allowed opportunism to gain the upper hand, which led to economic, political, and social disorder. The Communist Party was tarnished and lost prestige, and it lost its leading role with respect to the administration and all of society. The dictatorship of the proletariat lost its effect, and there was a loss of solidarity and unity. The crisis grew more and more serious. The main danger of collapse was from within. This danger originated from the subjective mistakes that had been made. Enemies from all sides took advantage of this opportunity to launch a powerful offensive using every means available, which quickly led to the collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union.

The socialist countries in Eastern Europe, following in the footsteps of the Soviet Union, made similar mistakes, with similar results.

The international situation is changing very rapidly and becoming more and more complex. Socialism is now facing a serious crisis, and imperialism is trying to use this opportunity to impose a "new world order" in accord with its dogmatic wishes.

However, for true communists, the collapse of realist socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe after decades of brilliant existence only proves that the struggle for socialism is a difficult, complex, and long-term struggle in which we cannot hope to avoid making mistakes and suffering defeats. But with a spirit of bravery, fighting tirelessly without being dogmatic, pessimistic, subjective, or voluntaristic, communists must inherit and develop Marxist-Leninist theory, constantly renovate themselves, and believe that in the end, truth will be victorious.

A Market Mechanism With State Control

923E0009C Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 92 pp 14-17

[Article by Ngo Dinh Giao, Ph.D. in economics, professor at the National College of Economics]

[Text] Based on the experiences of other countries and the realities of Vietnam, the Seventh Party Congress affirmed that Vietnam's economy in the coming years should be a multi-faceted commodity economy that operates based on a "state-controlled market mechanism." This argument is completely correct, and it is in accord with the specific conditions of our country.

1. A state-controlled market mechanism is in accord with the reform tendencies of other countries in the world.

In a period of free competition, the capitalist countries are using the market mechanism to manage the economy. This is an objective mechanism, and people call this a market economy. In implementing a free market mechanism, capitalism has run into a powerful struggle by the working class and laboring people with respect to social policies. In order to ease the struggle of the working class and accustom themselves to development conditions of modern capitalism, the capitalist countries have had to implement a number of social policies in order to regulate the growth of the capitalist economy. A market mechanism that is regulated by the capitalist state (a mixed mechanism) is now replacing the market mechanism of the period of free competition. People refer to this as a market economy that is switching to a mixed economy. This is a suitable mechanism, and it is a necessary direction in the economic development conditions of modern capitalism. This is because a market mechanism regulated by the capitalist state is a mechanism that coordinates the objective and the subjective. It both satisfies the desires of the capitalists, the exploiters of the working class, and reduces the serious conflicts between the capitalists and the workers. But because the economic and social development characteristics differ among the various capitalist countries, the level of regulation and the regulatory measures and tools of the capitalist countries also differ. Even in a market mechanism, the level of use of free markets and organized markets is different.

For a long time, the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, used a command or highly centralized planning mechanism, which was a subjective mechanism, to manage the economy. People refer to this as a planned economy. This mechanism allows the socialist state to regulate the economy by stipulating a system of norms, plans, and orders for the sectors, localities, and commercial production organizations. The realities of economic development based on a command or highly centralized planning mechanism have shown that although this can carry out economic and social development tasks and solve many of the laborers' social problems, because it is basically an administrative mechanism characterized by bureaucratic centralism and state

subsidies, it has blocked the initiative, creativity, and spirit of responsibility of the laborers and created much waste and many losses for the economy. The result is that economic and social results and commercial production results have been poor, the economy is in a crisis, inflation is rampant, and the lives of the people are becoming more and more difficult. In the face of this situation, the socialist countries have looked for and found a suitable economic management mechanism—a market mechanism regulated by the socialist state (a mechanism that coordinates the objective and the subjective)—to replace the command mechanism controlled by centralized planning. However, the contents of this mechanism have not yet been fully determined. We are now in a process of testing this and are encountering many difficulties. But in general, the market mechanism regulated by the socialist state is suited to the need to develop a socialist commodity economy.

2. A state-controlled market mechanism is in accord with the need to develop a commodity economy in line with the socialist orientation of Vietnam.

Both a capitalist and a socialist economy are based on the development of the process of social reproduction. The target of this process is to expand capitalist or socialist commodity production. Looking at the nature of an economy, a commodity economy must be managed based on a market mechanism. But along with its strengths and positive aspects, a market mechanism also has negative aspects (anarchic spontaneity, divisions between rich and poor, social injustice, and waste of resources and assets). Thus, in using a state-controlled market mechanism, using laws, plans, and other tools is an objective necessity.

First, the commodity economy in Vietnam must be managed based on a market mechanism.

If the commodity economy in Vietnam is to grow effectively, conditions must be created to enable the economic laws of commodity production to operate and manifest an effect. Those laws include the law of value, the law of supply and demand, the law of competition, and the law of currency circulation. It must be ensured that the market buy-sell relationship, the commodity-currency relationship, and the supply-demand relationship are implemented on the markets based on market prices, with market prices being determined by the supply of and demand for commodities, services, and capital.

To develop the commodity economy in Vietnam, stable markets must be built (both here and abroad). This means that the state must correctly understand the role of the markets in developing a commodity economy and create the conditions necessary for forming and expanding markets. Just because the markets have negative aspects, people should not rush to use subjective measures, which will just "stunt" the newly formed markets. Conversely, markets must be viewed as places where producers and consumers are free to buy and sell commodities and services based on market prices.

Market prices must be determined by the supply of and demand for commodities and services. Buyers must be free to choose the seller. There must be free competition between the buyer and the seller, between buyers, and between sellers. It is the market that will determine production. The producers will produce and sell only those goods and services that the market needs with respect to types, quantities, quality, and time.

Markets in Vietnam must be formed based on the need to develop a commodity and service economy. After commodity and service markets have been formed and expanded, conditions must be created to enable materials, equipment, and industrial markets, labor markets, and currency markets to be formed and grow in a synchronized manner. The thing that should be noted here is that the markets must have organizations (including both state and private organizations). These markets must be regarded as markets that have an advantage in the development of our country's commodity economy. This is the role of subjective understanding of people regarding the objective existence of markets.

The market mechanism must ensure that the commodity-currency and supply-demand-competition relationships remain in operation in order to stimulate the growth of the commodity economy. If supply is greater than demand, prices will fall, and if demand is greater than supply, prices will rise. Competition will cause the supply-demand relationship and prices to change. Competition requires the producers to look for measures to reduce production costs, improve product quality, and adhere to market needs in order to make correct decisions about production. To compete successfully, producers must have adequate quantities of high-quality goods to satisfy market demand and to ensure timely and convenient circulation.

Second, at the macrocosmic level, the commodity economy in Vietnam must be managed by the state.

The nature of management is control. The macrocosmic economic control of the state is a measure for limiting and overcoming the inherent negative aspects of the market mechanism. With respect to Vietnam, improving the macrocosmic control standards of the state is an urgent problem aimed at satisfying the requirements and hitting the targets of economic and social development. If only the market mechanism is used, it will not be possible to satisfy the demands of objective reality, such as the need to protect national security, overcome the results of the protracted war, and satisfy the general needs of economic and social development.

The state has the ability to control the economy at the macrocosmic level and manage and regulate the markets, because the state is the owner of the most important means of production in the national economy, and it is managing the state economic organizations, the activist elements of the multi-faceted economy. The state is creating the preconditions and necessary conditions for the formation and expansion of domestic and foreign

markets. The state can recognize and satisfy the requirements of the economic laws of commodity production and of the economic relationships on the markets in order to control (manage and regulate) the activities of the markets at the macrocosmic level. Thus, the commodity economy in Vietnam must be managed based on a state-controlled market mechanism. This mechanism is in accord with the special characteristics of developing a commodity economy in our country, and it has the ability to rapidly and effectively develop the commodity economy in our country. We have the ability to implement this mechanism in order to expand production and circulation based on the needs of the markets (above all the organized markets). The state must set guidelines, provide guidance, create the conditions, and manage and regulate market development in accord with the economic and social development targets.

3. A state-controlled market mechanism, which is the most rational and effective commercial management mechanism for Vietnam today, must be implemented.

The optimum economic management mechanism for Vietnam today must be a mechanism capable of exploiting the positive aspects of the market mechanism and of using the advantages of a centralized mechanism in managing the economy. This mechanism:

Requires and stimulates the commodity economy to develop in accord with the laws of commodity production (such as the law of value, the law of supply and demand, the law of currency circulation, and the law of competition) with the macrocosmic control of the state.

Overcomes the economic and social effects of a market mechanism characterized by totally free competition or a mechanism controlled by highly centralized planning.

Permits the creation of capabilities and an environment to exploit the creativity of the commercial production organizations and strengthen the macrocosmic economic management responsibilities of the state management organizations.

Makes it possible to develop a relationship of economic cooperation between our country and other countries based on the general principles of a market mechanism and the macrocosmic economic control of the state.

4. Principal measures to renovate the economic management mechanism:

In order to implement the market mechanism and the macrocosmic economic control of the state, the following principal measures must be used:

Quickly develop the science of marketing and make forecasts concerning domestic and foreign markets; build organizations to perform the function of making market forecasts, and strive to have intermediary organizations to serve as go-betweens in order to soon create stable foreign markets.

Rely on market forecasts in order to formulate correct guidelines concerning the development of production and commodity circulation both here and abroad.

Uniformly build various types of domestic and foreign markets, particularly service markets, markets concerning the basic factors of commodity production, and markets involving public and private organizations.

Create the conditions to generate sufficient strength to seize and stabilize markets abroad. The conditions for this are commodity forces, commodity quality, and circulation conditions (commerce, banks, communications and transportation, information, liaison, and so on).

Reorganize the production and commodity circulation forces of the state sector in order to have sufficient strength to compete on the markets against other domestic and foreign economic elements. Increase the amount of "gray matter" with respect to a number of types of goods that are among the strengths of Vietnam's economy.

Perfect the system of economic and social policies, particularly the financial and credit policies, and the system of commercial laws in order to control, adjust, and regulate the macrocosmic economy of the state.

Build national reserve forces with sufficient strength to stabilize the commodity economy based on a market mechanism.

Urgently train the existing ranks of economic management cadres so that they have the ability to perform their commercial production and state economic management functions. At the same time, ranks of cadres must be trained to serve as a basis for long-term economic development.

Thoroughly Understand the Party's Basic Viewpoints on Press, Publication

*923E0009D Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 92 pp 18-21*

[Text] During the past several years, along with the important and very significant renovations in various spheres, press and publication activities in Vietnam have made many notable advances. Gradually freeing itself from the state subsidies mechanism, the publications market has become very lively. The information published in the newspapers and magazines is more varied and timely. The forms of presentation have constantly been improved. The expansion of the topics and themes and the renovation of printing techniques and capital-creation and publishing measures have stimulated the creative potential of artists, writers, and journalists and mobilized many other strengths in society for the press and publication profession.

Press and publication activities have actively contributed to spreading propaganda, popularizing things, and mobilizing the people to implement the renovation policies of the party and state, creating an atmosphere of openness, and gradually improving the people's standard of culture and democratizing social life.

The press has actively participated in opposing corruption and other negative phenomena and spreading propaganda about the economic and social policies. In particular, on the occasion of major holidays in 1990 and during the Seventh Party Congress in 1991, the press and other publications reflected the ideas contributed by the people to party building and to the Political Program and Economic and Social Development Strategy and waged a struggle against erroneous viewpoints. After the Seventh Party Congress, the press and other publications actively put the viewpoints and ideas of the congress into practice.

However, because of the complex changes in the world, the economic and social difficulties in changing the management mechanism, the bad effects—the reverse side of the market economy—on the aesthetic tastes, morals, and way of life of a number of people, and, most directly, the weaknesses in state management with respect to the press and publications, along with the strengths, press and publication activities have recently exhibited shortcomings and deviations and been criticized by the public.

A number of newspapers have committed violations concerning propaganda viewpoints and discipline and violated the Press Law. They have printed inaccurate stories that had not been investigated or objectively analyzed or criticized, with the result that readers and others who have heard about these stories have an unfavorable opinion. In some places, newspaper articles have made allusions and provocative statements and criticized the lack of development with respect to leadership and management. A number of newspapers have abused the publishing of supplements and spent much effort on publishing secondary issues and special products in order to make a profit, moving far away from their goals, functions, tasks, and publishing sphere. A number of newspapers have invested very little to improve the quality of their lead articles and investigative articles to discover good models. Instead, they have given attention to finding stories about crime and sex in order to attract customers.

Many publishing houses have published a large variety of books and magazines whose contents are not in accord with their goals, functions, or tasks. After the publication of various types of pornographic books in 1988 and 1989, which was condemned by the National Assembly and the people, a number of publishing houses have recently begun reprinting various chronicles and war stories, including adventure stories and books published in the south during the period of the Americans and their puppets, which is not in line with the permits issued them.

There have also been many violations and negative phenomena in printing and publishing. The printing installations and means of printing have developed quickly, exceeding the control capabilities of the state. Some places have printed books and journals for which they do not have permits, or the contents are not in

accord with the stipulations in the permits. In recent years, a number of press and publication organizations have allowed private individuals to participate directly in investing in printing and publishing activities. Some people have used their investment capital to distort the contents of the publications and organize the publishing like gang leaders. Most of the books and magazines reach only wealthy people and people who live in the cities. Few publications reach the rural areas, and hardly any reach the highlands and remote areas. The publications of a number of provinces and cities mention, sometimes incorrectly, incidents that have happened in other localities in the country, thereby causing confusion in information and social opinion.

Clearly, press and publication management has recently exhibited many loopholes and deviations. Publishing permits are not issued properly. Prompt and resolute action is not taken to discover, prevent, or prosecute violations. This situation requires that the leadership of the party and the management of the state be strengthened in all respects: from perfecting the system of laws to reorganizing the press and publication system in a rational way; from improving the political quality and professional capabilities of the people engaged in press work to improving the quality of the manuscripts, stories, and radio and television programs; and from renovating the means and managing all of printing installations to organizing and managing the publishing and transmitting systems so that newspapers, magazines, and radio and television programs reach every locality and household in the country.

The party committee echelons must really lead the press organizations and publishing houses at their echelon and in their sector and locality with respect to guidelines and contents, organize the ranks of key cadres, and promptly discover and correct deviations. The state organizations must heighten their management responsibility, enable the press and publishing organizations to perform their functions and tasks properly, and deal with violations of the law promptly and resolutely.

In order to put leadership and management on the right track based on the spirit of Directive 63/BBT of the Secretariat and Resolution 384/HDBT of the Council of Ministers, the sectors at all echelons must thoroughly understand the basic viewpoints of the party on press and publication activities. In particular, they must have a correct viewpoint and handle the following relationships well:

1. As for roles and functions, the press and publishing organizations are the organs of speech of the party and state whose functions are to spread propaganda and educate and inspire the people to build the new system, the new economy, and the new man according to socialist guidelines. At the same time, there provide a forum for the people. Through the press and publications, the people express their hopes and ideas on every

problem concerning building and defending the fatherland, the leadership of the party and the management of the state, and the activities of the economic and social organizations.

In a class society, the press is always the direct or indirect representative of the interests of certain classes and groups. The bourgeois class has successfully used the press and publications to oppose feudalism, attack the socialist countries in the ideological sphere, implement peaceful change, and protect the interests and increase the influence of the capitalist cliques. In Vietnam, the party and President Ho used the progressive books and journals as sharp ideological weapons in order to awaken the masses and struggle for power. During the resistance against aggression and the struggle to build a new life, the press has been the "collective propagandist, agitator, and organizer" in the revolutionary movements of the people and made worthy contributions to the nation's glorious victories.

Today, socialist construction is a very great and very new task for which there is no pre-existing model. We must both carry on things and gain experience in order to choose the right path. The party and state hope that through the press and publications, the various strata of loyal people will contribute many good ideas and many good solutions in order to develop our economy, culture, and society. At the same time, through the press, the people must criticize and struggle against corruption, authoritarianism, and other negative social phenomena and help the party and state eliminate degenerate and degraded elements and discover talented people. But we cannot accept those who use the press and publications to publish information, articles, and works to oppose the party's leadership and the state's management and to oppose the socialist path chosen by the party and people.

In a multi-faceted economy, the interests of this element may be different from that element. But the state, led by the party, is the representative of the ownership rights and common interests of all the people. Except for taking steps to ensure that the people are prosperous and the country is strong and that we keep pace with the civilized countries, the party and state have no other goals or interests. Unless we adhere to the view that the press and publications are the organs of speech of the party and state and the forum of the people, we will not be able to have two-way information or stimulate the intelligence of the people in building and developing the country, and press information will become weak. Conversely, if the meaning of forum is misunderstood and the forum is pushed too fast, there will be anarchy and a loss of social stability. Objectively, this will benefit the enemy forces. This is something that our country's Press Law will not allow.

2. Economic accounting and running after profits only: In switching from the old mechanism to the new mechanism, we are encouraging the press and publication organizations to practice economic accounting and handle their own financial affairs in order to gradually or

completely eliminate budget subsidies. The goal is to have the press manifest a spirit of independence and to improve the operating results of every unit. On a broad plane, economic accounting is a matter of considering the requirements in supporting the political tasks, improving the quality of the contents of the publications, adhering to the targets, and creating the conditions for maintaining and developing the profession. Going deeply into each unit, economic accounting will help improve work methods, increase labor productivity, improve product quality, save money and lower production costs, and manifest the effects of each dong.

But economic accounting in the press and publishing business does not mean chasing after profits only. In this sphere, profits and losses must be calculated but not with the aim of earning a high profit in every situation, including publishing titillating stories and books in order to attract customers. In our system, in order to protect the people's right to receive wholesome information, it is not essential that all books and magazines make a profit. They must not chase after profits alone by publishing dangerous materials that pander to low tastes. The party and state must implement correct positions and policies regarding different types of cultural products. The management organizations must invest in the press and publishing houses based on having newspapers and magazines that have been given price subsidies and by reducing or waiving the taxes on some types of newspapers and magazines. The press and publishing organizations must make calculations regarding each type of publication and determine which will make a profit and which will suffer losses in order to handle financial matters themselves. But regardless of the situation, they must not print or publish evil and dangerous articles and books.

Because of failing to grasp the above viewpoint, during the past period, many places have eliminated all subsidies for publications or given a blank check to the publishing and press organizations to manage things themselves. They have also told these organizations that they must earn revenues for the local budget using every means possible. This has encouraged a number of press and publishing organizations to chase after profits and ignore the contents of their publications. In a number of places, the press and publishing organizations are still allowing a few people to edit things as they see fit. Some places have allowed people to select the topics and themes and organize the printing and publication. All they do is sit back and take in the money. This "blank check" form actually amounts to selling publishing permits, giving control over contents and form to certain individuals. This is very dangerous. The leadership and management organizations must exert control and put a stop to this.

3. On the relationship between education and entertainment:

Books and magazines are the products of intellectuals and the spiritual food of readers. The press and publishing organizations, editors-in-chief, reporters, and editors are people whom the party and state have made

responsible for selecting good works and delicious and beneficial "food" for the people. They are responsible for providing the people with necessary and high quality information in order to help the people expand their knowledge, improve their will power, develop their emotions, improve their character, and satisfy their aesthetic needs and their need for knowledge about the world around them. To ignore the educational nature of books and magazines is to ignore the special significance of this special type of commodity. But if attention is given only to the educational aspect, ignoring wholesome entertainment needs, the educational effect will be limited.

For many years, we focused our attention on education and slighted the entertainment aspect and so publications in general were very dry and heavy and unattractive to readers. But in recent years, in trying to make renovations, a number of publishing houses and press organizations have given much attention to the entertainment aspect and promoted this factor too much, thereby limiting the educational contents. A number of newspapers have published very insignificant stories about ordinary life, exploited idle gossip or stories about the private lives of this and that person, and viewed this as a valuable way to attract customers and earn a profit. But readers have found such stories boring. Many newspapers and magazines have published too many photographs of naked women and gory scenes, and the text has not been polished or refined, which has led to a negative reaction among readers and viewers.

The correct viewpoint is that the educational aspect of books and magazines must never be slighted. But at the same time, a proper amount of attention must be given to the entertainment factor. Wholesome entertainment in publications must be viewed as having educational meaning. Allowing the profit factor in the market economy to have a bad effect on the entertainment factor and allowing entertainment to encroach on the educational contents is a mistake that must be corrected.

4. On the relationship between cooperation and competition among the press and publishing organizations: In our system, the common target of the press and publications is to support building the country based on the lines of the party. The press and publishing organizations have been assigned tasks based on different functions, tasks, policies, goals, and operating spheres. A very natural and necessary objective requirement is to coordinate planning and help each other.

The press should not encroach on the work of books, and the publishing houses should not transform special books into newspapers and magazines. As for contents, there are broad subjects about which many sectors and localities have written, but these must reflect the color of their sector and locality and be in accord with the readers targeted.

Based on the functions, tasks, targets, and scope determined for each type of newspaper and publishing house, we advocate allowing the newspapers and publishing houses to compete in order to attract many excellent

collaborators, produce high-quality products, reduce costs, and publish many books and newspapers for the targets and bases. Wholesome competition must be encouraged. But at the same time, we must criticize overpowering competition that turns its back on others, tries to scoop stories and photographs, attacks and criticizes others in the newspaper, and generates discord among people of the same profession.

In order to have both good cooperation and healthy competition, the leadership and state management organizations in this sphere must provide guidance to coordinate things in spreading propaganda and publishing

books, particularly in publishing literary volumes and translations of books, printing calendars, and so on in order to avoid duplication, waste, and violations of the publishing law.

If the above basic viewpoints are understood and the leadership of the party committee echelons and the management responsibilities of the state with respect to the press and publications are strengthened, this profession will certainly expand even more and make even more positive and worthy contributions to renovating the country.

The Problem of a Jurisdictional State

923E0009E *Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN*
in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 92 pp 22-25

[Article by Nguyen Van Dong]

[Text] In Vietnam today, building a jurisdictional state has become one of the important tasks of the movement to renovate the country on the path toward socialism. [Footnote 1] [See the speeches by General Secretary Do Muoi and Chairman of the Council of Ministers Vo Van Kiet at the 9th Session of the National Assembly, 7th Term] Seriously studying the contents of and progressive values in the concept of a jurisdictional state is very necessary and urgent.

From the study of such subjects as philosophy, the history of political theories, the history of states, and the laws of countries around the world, we know that the concept of a jurisdictional state was formed mainly during the 19th century by various bourgeois writers (Locke, Kant, and others) with liberal views. However, even before that, in the struggle by the peoples of Europe against the dictatorial state apparatus in the 17th and 18th centuries for democratic freedom and social progress, the principles concerning a jurisdictional state were established. A number of the basic themes in the ideas on a jurisdictional state are as follows:

The state administration must limit its activities to the sphere of law. This is one of the basic principles of a jurisdictional state. This principle was not only a requirement of the liberal bourgeois writers but also a demand of the masses in the struggle for democratic freedoms.

The state must respect and fully protect the democratic freedoms of citizens. In the "Metaphysic of Ethics," Kant said that "the state is a union of many people under the control of the law. Man can never be viewed as a means to reach a goal. Rather, man must be viewed as the goal. Every individual and all of society must obey and defend the laws. Each citizen has rights and, at the same time, the ability to force those in power to obey and uphold the laws." [Footnote 2] [See Chemilovski, J.M.: "The Jurisdictional State: the Experience of History," STATE AND SOVIET LAW, No 4, 1989]

State powers must be separated. In order to ensure mutual responsibilities between the state and citizens, the best form of state organization is a democratic republic. However, in order to oppose dogmatism and authoritarianism, the powers of a republican state must be separated into legislative, executive, and judicial powers, with legislative power playing a guiding role. Russian lawyers in the 19th century regarded Montesquieu's theory of separation of powers as a basis for putting forth ideas on a jurisdictional state.

When proposing the highest principles of the law, scientists have stressed the role and influence of the representative organization (parliament). The representative

organization has the right to write a constitution and promulgate laws, and it monitors all the activities of the state apparatus.

The judicial organizations must respect and implement the principle of independence when trying violations of the laws. According to deputies who have given views on a jurisdictional state, to form such a state, the state must give attention to the judicial system, to decisions, and to the laws. The principle of adhering to the law only in trying cases will ensure objectiveness, impartiality, and fairness when deciding cases and block plans and actions designed to use the law for individual motives. The courts are responsible not only for trying cases but also for inspecting and supervising the enforcement of the laws in the activities of the executive organizations. Kant said that establishing constitutional courts and giving them the right to monitor the constitutionality and legality of the draft laws and activities of the executive organizations are essential measures that will bring many benefits.

The demands, which are like principles, of those who adhere to liberalism with respect to the bourgeois state are actually aimed at rejecting the laboring people and creating an opportunity for the elite and the owners of the means of production in society to participate in managing the state and political life. They demand that the bourgeois state respect and ensure individual freedoms, above all the interests and freedoms of the bourgeoisie. They demand that the bourgeois state be organized in the form of a parliament, but that parliament is composed only of people with power and money. They try to resolve the conflict between the state and the people by mouthing the phrase "general welfare." Clearly, ideas concerning a jurisdictional state have a deep class nature and manifest historical relativism.

Of course, the progressive and scientific aspects in the views concerning a jurisdictional state have been recognized by history and applied to varying degrees in different countries in the world.

In recent years, many scientists and politicians have said that building a jurisdictional state in countries that are following the socialist path is an objective requirement and that this is required by the scale and complexity of the tasks that the state must perform and by the economic, political, and social situation and the situation in implementing the laws in society.

In Vietnam, in recent years the party has not talked directly about building a jurisdictional state. However, the positions and policies of the party on the organization and operations of the state apparatus and on perfecting the legal system have all been aimed squarely at turning our country into a state of the people, by and for people, and for the people and maintaining a disciplined and democratic society in which every citizen has rights and fulfills his obligations. This is manifested very clearly in many of the party's documents and in our Constitutions (the Constitutions of 1946, 1959, and

1980). For many reasons, the organization and activities of the state apparatus here still has many shortcomings and weaknesses, and there have been many negative phenomena. In order to overcome this situation, the Seventh Party Congress put forth practical measures aimed at building and perfecting all aspects of the state apparatus, building social discipline, and implementing the democratic rights of the people.

With respect to understanding, every person must be made to understand the meaning of building a jurisdictional state: Respect, protect, and fully implement the rights of people and citizens; the state and citizens both have rights, obligations, and responsibilities; protect and strengthen legal order; respect and implement socialist laws; the state apparatus must be organized and operate based on the laws with a clear division of functions and tasks among the state power, administrative, and judicial organizations (guaranteed by the legal mechanism); and unify and adhere to the system of laws (with the Constitution being the basic law). The legal documents promulgated by the administrative and economic organizations must be in accord with and serve to implement the Constitution and laws.

In Vietnam today, in understanding and applying the idea of a jurisdictional state, there are several points that need to be given attention:

First, a jurisdictional state is not a special type of state. According to Marxist-Leninist theory on the state and as reality has shown, there have been only four types of states in history: slave states, feudal states, bourgeois states, and socialist states. The word "jurisdictional" emphasizes the legal nature of the state. "Socialism" is the nature, essence, and struggle target of the state.

Second, the scope of operations of two principles in a jurisdictional state must be differentiated: the rule of law in social life and the supremacy of the laws. The first principle has a broad scope of operations in all of society and is related to both management subjects and objects. The second principle has a narrower scope of operations. It operates mainly within the system of laws promulgated by the state with the aim of forcing the executive and judicial organizations to adhere to the set of legal values of the laws and documents under the law.

If people have a mechanical and one-sided understanding of the unity of the laws in social life, this will lead to two incorrect psychological states. First, the role of the law will be made absolute, which will lead to a desire to "legislate all of social life" and result in the other tools and measures in management and life, such as morals, practices, national traditions, and ideological and economic tools, being slighted. Second, people will become passive and depend on the decisions and directives of higher echelons. They will not search for the best solutions that are in accord with the situation and conditions of their sector, locality, or base.

Third, the state must be organized and function with the framework of the law. Some people are unsure about

this, saying that this is correct with respect to an exploitative state. But they wonder if the law can stand above the state administration in a state of the people, by the people, and for the people. In order to answer this question, the various terms must be defined. What is a socialist state? What are socialist laws? What are the characteristics, functions, and operating targets of the state? And so on. Here, all I want to say is that the state and the law have a close relationship but they are not synonymous. Our state did not come into being as a result of laws but as a result of the very difficult struggle waged by the people under the leadership of the party. Later on, the state promulgated laws in order to manage the country. Understood this way, the state administration stands above the law. But the problem is, the laws do not belong to the state but to all of the laboring people. They are the willpower, interests, and aspirations of the people that have been standardized in the form of standards and principles in the activities of the political and social organizations and citizens. The state is just the people's representative in transforming the willpower and interests of the people into laws and implementing those laws. With the credentials of an element of society, the state, too, must obey the laws. Problems concerning the organization and activities of the state must be resolved by the law. Thus, the term law as it relates to the administration does not mean that the law can't intervene in the organization and activities of the state or that the state has the right to stand above the law. The state will become a jurisdictional state only if it is organized and operates within the framework of the law and for the purpose of implementing the law.

Fourth, the functions and tasks of the legislative, executive, and judicial organizations must be determined. Montesquieu's theory of separation of powers uses power to limit power. The three branches of power serve to restrain each other in order to prevent any of the three organizations from gaining a monopoly or having arbitrary freedoms. In this theory, there is a rational core that should be studied further and applied in the organization and activities of a socialist state apparatus. One point that must be noted is that in conditions in which the power of the bourgeois state is divided in line with the will power and interests of opposing factions and groups, such a separation of powers is necessary and appropriate. But with respect to a socialist society, state power is unified based on the fact that political power belongs to the people alone (Article 6 of the 1980 Constitution). In order to ensure that the power of the people is implemented uniformly, fully, and effectively, the functions and tasks of the elected organizations, administrative organizations, courts, and people's organs of control must be clearly determined (based on the 1980 Constitution). In this, the state power organizations, particularly the National Assembly, have a very important position and role. The National Assembly has the power to write a Constitution and promulgate laws, make decisions about the important issues in the domestic and foreign policies of the state, and monitor all of the activities of the state apparatus. Thus, all that

has been done is to determine the functions and tasks of the state organizations. There is no separation of powers. Naturally, determining the functions and tasks as mentioned above is not done in an arbitrary manner but is based on and guaranteed by the laws.

The construction of a jurisdictional state in Vietnam does not have its own goals. Rather, the purpose of this is to hit the renovation targets set by the party. However, in our country's present situation and conditions, the process of building a jurisdictional state will be relatively long, and we will certainly encounter difficulties. Thus, the party and state must guide the functional organization in drafting a comprehensive and synchronized program (from ideology and targets to specific measures and steps) on building a socialist jurisdictional state in our country.

In order to have a theoretical basis, there are two main tasks:

- a. To fully review the building of the state and the promulgation of laws from 1945 to the present, and based on that, to learn the lessons and continue to renovate the state apparatus and the legal system in the coming period.
- b. To organize things and invest in studying the problems concerning building a jurisdictional state in Vietnam. Here, there are three groups of problems:

Group 1: These are related to ideas concerning a jurisdictional state. For example, the sources of the theory and the main reasons for the birth of ideas concerning a jurisdictional state; the basic contents of ideas on a jurisdictional state; a jurisdictional state; basic concepts and principles and main standards; progressive values and limitations in the ideas concerning a jurisdictional state; and so on.

Group 2: These are related to the use of the ideas on a jurisdictional state in countries with different political and social systems in different regions of the world and to the similarities and differences in the use of this in various countries.

Group 3: These are related to the construction of a jurisdictional state in Vietnam. For example, the scientific basis and the conditions necessary for building a socialist jurisdictional state; common and separate characteristics of establishing a jurisdictional state in Vietnam; the factors (positive and negative) that directly affect building a jurisdictional state today; the principal measures to build a jurisdictional state; man in a jurisdictional state and legal guarantees for human rights in Vietnam; and so on.

The state must establish a full-time center to guide and control the activities of the organizations concerned, the research institutes, and the colleges and academies and to review practices, study theories, integrate the results of the research, and draft programs.

The above tasks will concretize the viewpoints and ideas of the party concerning renovating the state and laws in our country.

The Party's Political Prestige

923E0009F Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 92 pp 26-28, 33

[Article by Tran Dinh Huynh, deputy head of the Party Building Institute, Marxist-Leninist Institute]

[Text] 1. The political prestige of a party cannot be gained by subjective wishes nor can a party confer prestige on itself. It is established by the subjective factors of the party in accord with the objective conditions of social development. Once the social conflicts reach a serious level and the needs of daily life and social progress must be satisfied, sooner or later individuals—and along with those individuals there will be political forces—with the ability to satisfy those needs will appear. The scale of the social conflicts and the ability of those individuals and political forces to resolve the conflicts will determine the degree of their social prestige. Ho Chi Minh enjoyed great political prestige in Vietnam and throughout the world in the 20th century, because he and, along with him, the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV], satisfied the vital needs of the Vietnamese people and all oppressed peoples in the world. He and the party smashed colonialism and won independence and freedom for the nation. The phrase "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom" became an expression of human willpower in our era. There was the 1945 August Revolution, the peace talks of 1946, the resistance against France, and then the resistance against America. Through half a century of struggle, the Communist Party of Vietnam built and solidified its political prestige and truly "represented the intelligence, conscience, morals, and honor of the Vietnamese nation." (Ho Chi Minh)

2. The political prestige of a party is formed by many factors, and those factors are organically related to each other. One serves as the precondition for another, and together they form a unified system.

Above all, the political prestige of a party that takes the vanguard in leading the revolution is determined by the theoretical standards of that party. Lenin was correct when he affirmed that only a party with a guiding vanguard theory will be able to carry out the tasks of a vanguard warrior. Ho Chi Minh fully understood that advice and rephrased it in a simpler but accurate way, generalizing the decisive nature of a vanguard theory with respect to all the activities and practices of the party. He viewed theory as being the "intelligence" of the party. How much the party could achieve depended on its level of "intelligence." And in turn, the party's prestige among the people depended on what it did.

There is no easy way with respect to "intelligence," the theoretical standards of the party. It is built above all by progressive intellectuals and outstanding scientists with

the ability to use the storehouse of knowledge created by mankind to reason and create. But theoretical ideas are not formed all at once in a moment of history. They are usually formed over a long period, examined through actual activities, and supplemented and created continuously. The objective world moves, changes, and progresses along a winding path. The essential, the essence, is concealed by countless accidental things and complex external phenomena. Individuals who labor and make their living in specific economic and social conditions are controlled by the specific conditions of the era and by the nation and class that produced them. Through this, they contribute to pushing the wheel of history forward. Progressive intellectuals know how to analyze and integrate the creative activities of the people's movements in order to gradually perfect their theoretical system. If the gray color of theory can penetrate into social life and become a material force and the strength to transform society and push history forward, that proves the correctness of the scientific truths that have been inspected and judged by reality. At that point, progressive scientific theory will be the ideological foundation and compass for the activities of the party and enable the party to become the guide and lead the activities of the masses. The party's role will then be vital to the people and nation. The party will be like the captain of a revolutionary boat crossing the ocean who has a compass in his hand.

In the turning points of history and in other periods resembling "the first steps of the people," at the junction there is hesitation about which of the roads to take and so there must be "intelligence" to provide an answer and make a decision. It is at such times that the role of the revolutionary theory and progressive ideas of the revolutionary party move into the vanguard and play a decisive role. The accuracy of the decisions illuminated by theory have established the political prestige of the party.

Second, the political prestige of a party is determined by the political tasks carried out by the party. To state this another way, the political prestige of a party is due to its ability to use theory wisely in actual conditions in order to formulate correct programs, positions, and policies.

The program manifests the intellectual capabilities and theoretical standards of the party. Progressive theory is manifested above all in the party's political program. Having a program is essential. Without one, the party will lose its sense of direction. But even so, it is still just a flag and slogan calling for action. Thus, it is the major positions and policies, which have a direct effect on all of social life, that will directly influence the political prestige of the party. The masses, particularly the masses in a backward agricultural country with a low standard of culture such as Vietnam, usually evaluate the leadership of the party through direct contacts and though the policies and results having a direct effect on their daily lives. Because of this, each step actually taken has a much greater effect on the confidence of the masses than the abstract theories of the program. Marx was correct

when he said that the French peasants "smelled the taste" of the government through the tax policy on the production of wine. In Vietnam, the Vietnamese peasants' loss of confidence in the Communist Party of Vietnam can be seen through the policy of collectivizing agriculture in a rapid and voluntaristic manner and through a whole series of incorrect policies on agriculture, the peasants, and the rural areas.

The political prestige of the party rises and declines depending on the positions and policies implemented in real life. Economic, cultural, social, security, national defense, and diplomatic steps that benefit the fatherland and the people will serve to solidify the prestige of the party. Put another way, the political prestige of the party is proportional to the legitimate interests of the people served by the party's policies.

Third, the political prestige of the party is determined by the party's organizations.

Maintaining and improving the qualifications of a true revolutionary party is always a matter of decisive importance with respect to the life of the party. "The party is not an organization whose purpose is to become a mandarin and get rich." [Footnote 1] [Ho Chi Minh, "On Party Building," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, p 35] Our country and people need the party, because through personal experience, the people realize that only if there is a party will it be possible to satisfy the basic needs of the country, which are to complete the task of liberating the nation, making the fatherland prosperous and strong, and making the people happy. The targets of communists are the freedom and happiness of the people. If the country is independent but the people are not free and happy, independence is meaningless. Communists think that socialism is the path to that target. But to have socialism, there must be socialist people, and there must be enough capable people to provide leadership in educating and training socialist people. If the party is to lead society, it must have sufficient prestige and the capabilities to complete this task. In our party, for many different reasons, there are many party members who are unworthy. Along with the good people who have completed their tasks, "there are also degraded people." Thus, the party must constantly correct itself. "It is responsible for purging itself of those people." [Ho Chi Minh]

Party organizations must be able to purify and strengthen themselves. The most important thing is that the reputation of party members must be protected and proven in practice, not in words. Nguyen Van Linh correctly stated that "the masses' view of the party is usually formed based on specific party members in work places and population zones. There is no abstract party situated outside the view of the masses." [Footnote 2] [Nguyen Van Linh, Speech read on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Vietnam]

Thus, the basic conditions that determine the political prestige of the party are each party member's intellectual

capabilities, ability to complete the assigned tasks well, moral nature, honesty, and behavior that earns the love and trust of the masses.

Fourth, the political prestige of the party will be maintained if the party knows how to live in the hearts of the masses, has a deep understanding of the thoughts, hopes, difficulties, fears, and resentments of the masses, has a concept of responsibility, and is brave and resolute in searching for effective solutions to the problems.

After the party led the people in seizing power, the problem that arose was how to enable the state to really become a state of the people, by the people, and for the people and how to get everyone, from the leaders at the top to ordinary people, to "understand that the organs of government, from the national level to the villages, are the servants of the people. That is, they must work for the people. They are certainly not there to oppress the people as was the case when Vietnam was ruled by France and Japan." [Footnote 3] [Ho Chi Minh, "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, volume 1, page 370]

Even though life is still very difficult, the party must take steps to ensure that the majority of the people realize that the party is intelligent, civilized, and "pure and upright." The people must see that having a party means having justice and that with the party comes truth and mercy. Looking at communists, particularly the leading cadres of the party, people must see the presence of characteristics worthy of emulation in order to transform one's life for the better and to live and strive on behalf of man and life. That is the true political prestige of a true revolutionary party, a party with the ability to lead the people in the struggle to work and build a new life.

3. Today, there are concerns about the political prestige of our party. The sixth and seventh party congresses pointed out the weaknesses and shortcomings of our party as compared with the revolutionary tasks in the new stage. Thus, reorganizing the party is viewed as a basic solution and as a special medicine with the strength to resist social degeneration.

After several years of implementing the renovation policy, although the situation has undergone many encouraging changes, in general, the economic and social situation is still unstable, fundamental progress has not been made in reorganizing the party, and there are aspects that need to be given more attention. On the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CPV, Nguyen Van Linh frankly pointed out that "a large number of party members and cadres are still exhibiting many shortcomings. Passivity, indifference, an attitude of irresponsibility, and a bureaucratic work style are still prevalent in many places. There are people who are not at all touched

or troubled by the people's cries concerning injustice and unfairness. These people are concerned only about themselves and their families. Recently, in a number of places, party members and cadres have taken the lead in deceiving a number of thoughtless people in order to stir up trouble regarding land disputes and have them resist the authorities. I don't want to cite too many other negative phenomena. Instead, I want to focus on the recent encroachment on socialist property, corruption and bribery, the waste of public property, and the degenerate behavior of a number of cadres and party members, particularly in the economic sectors, which has reached an alarming level and which has led to legitimate complaints among the various strata of people. These are real crimes regardless of whether viewed from the standpoint of morals or social behavior." With a clear view, Nguyen Van Linh said in a very heartfelt way that if these shortcomings are allowed to continue, the danger of gradually losing the masses will increase.

At the Second Plenum (Seventh Term) of the CPV Central Committee, the notice clearly pointed out that the economic and social situation "continues to undergo complex changes, and some aspects are very serious. The macrocosmic management of the state has shortcomings and loopholes, and there are many shortcomings in the financial and currency management mechanisms. Few results have been achieved in stopping corruption, waste, smuggling, and speculation. The reorganization of the state economy and the renovation of the collective economy have been slow, as has the reorganization and reduction in size of the staff. The loss of order and the lack of discipline are still serious. [Footnote 4] [Notice of the Second Plenum (Seventh Term) of the CPV Central Committee, TAP CHI CONG SAN, January 1991, page 3]

The general observations made above are sufficient to show that the political prestige of our party is a problem that must be given much attention in the activity programs and plans of the entire party. The danger of losing the masses is still very serious, because the causes of this problem have not declined, and in some places things have grown even worse.

Reorganizing the party is closely related to the life of the party and to the survival of our system.

4. Many things must be done in order to solidify and raise the prestige of the party. There must be synchronized and resolute solutions, and this will take time. Because to fundamentally change the situation, the work of the party must be focused on solving the basic economic and social problems and creating stability in order to enter a period of development. Once signs of prosperity have appeared, the minds of the people will be at ease, and the political prestige of the leading party will be firmly established.

But in order to hit that target, in my view, efforts must be concentrated on opposing corruption and smuggling. This must be regarded as one of the leading tasks of party building in the coming years.

The reports by the functional organizations show that many of the cases of smuggling and corruption that have been condemned by the public and that need to be prosecuted have been committed by party members in positions of power. Every crime must be tried in a just and wise manner, and steps must be taken to put a stop to showing deference to individuals and to covering up things. The party must lead the judicial organizations in handling things in accord with the law, ensure that each citizen is treated fairly under the law, and prohibit the use of individual powers to interfere in the affairs of the judicial organizations. In the present situation, if corruption is not stopped, the positions and policies of the party and state, even if correct, will simply "hang in the air" like lifeless slogans, and the political prestige of the party will continue to decline.

The Real Situation and the Changes in the Social and Population Structures

*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 92 pp 29-33*

[Article by Le Van Tuan; not translated]

Information in a Market Economy

*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 92 pp 34-35, 39*

[Article by Pham Van Nghien; not translated]

What Is Political Science?

*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 92 pp 36-39*

[Article by Hoang Cong; not translated]

Strengthen and Control Obeying the Law in the Economic Sphere

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 2, Apr 92 pp 40-43, 52

[Article by Ha Manh Tri; not translated]

Turn the Household Economy Into a Commodity Production Unit

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 92 pp 44-46

[Article by Vuong Cuong; not translated]

The Relationship Between the Party Organization, the Authorities, and the Mass Organization in Dong Thanh Village

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 92 pp 47-48

[Article by Phuong Hanh; not translated]

Commodity Production in the Mekong Delta

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 92 pp 49-52

[Article by Doan Hue; not translated]

Blow....Down

**00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 92 p 53**

[Article by Nhi Le; not translated]

**More Attention Should Be Paid to Party Work
Abroad**

923E0009G Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 92 pp 54-56

[Article by Thanh Cao, research specialist with the Party Foreign Affairs Committee]

[Text] Since the October Revolution in 1945, our party and state have sent a number of cadres and party members to work abroad. Following the border victory in 1950, the number of cadres and party members sent to work and train in the Soviet Union, China, and a number of other socialist countries increased. However, party work abroad at that time was handled concurrently by key cadres working at delegations.

In later years, the party organizations abroad expanded, and the political tasks of the targets abroad were very different. This required that the party organizations abroad be led and guided uniformly. At the beginning of 1961, the Secretariat of the CPV Central Committee issued Resolution 16 (31 March 1961) establishing the Party Foreign Affairs Committee and making it responsible for this task.

For the past 30 years, under the direct leadership of the Party Foreign Affairs Committee, the party organizations and party chapters abroad have always thoroughly understood the viewpoints, lines, and policies of the party and state in each revolutionary phase, carried out the political tasks of the targets abroad, constantly strengthened political and ideological education for the cadres, party members, and non-party members, solidified the trust and unity of the masses with respect to the viewpoints and lines of the party, regularly solidified the party and mass organizations, controlled the cadres and party members, maintained internal politics and solidarity and unity among the Vietnamese living abroad, and built a relationship of friendship and international cooperation with the people in the countries where they were assigned.

Today, the international situation is undergoing very complex changes. The changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are having a bad effect on the thinking of the cadres, party members and non-party members living abroad. Making use of this situation, a number of reactionary elements living in exile and outside enemy forces are trying to destroy our revolution. They have stepped up their ideologically destructive activities in an effort to destabilize our organizations abroad. These reactionary elements often go to countries where large numbers of Vietnamese reside, join forces with a number of bad elements among the Vietnamese people there, and organize "seminars" opposing socialism. They have established opposition parties with the financial support and means of publication of reactionary exile organizations in order to spread propaganda against us. They put out news bulletins and magazines, publish the reactionary documents of other countries, and publish materials provided by discontented elements and opposition

elements within Vietnam who oppose the viewpoints and lines of our party. What they want to do is create divisions and weaken the confidence of the masses in our delegations and organizations abroad. They even try to invalidate and eliminate the leadership role of the party organizations abroad using such slogans as "demand pluralism and a multi-party system and eliminate socialism in Vietnam."

In the face of this situation, the party organizations have maintained their leadership role, completed the tasks, and stabilized the political situation among the Vietnamese. However, party work abroad has many shortcomings and cannot fully satisfy the new requirements of the political tasks. A number of cadres, party members, and non-party members have lost confidence and have doubts about the path of socialist construction in our country. A number are confused, and they are wavering. A number of party base organizations are lax in providing leadership. The combat willpower of some party members has declined, and the mass organizations do not carry on activities. A number of degenerate party members are adhering to a pragmatic way of life and doing everything they can to earn money. This has affected the prestige of the Vietnamese living abroad.

Today, we have more than 40 delegations and international organizations stationed abroad, with several tens of thousands of cadres and party members directly subordinate to the party Foreign Affairs Committee. And there are hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese working and studying abroad.

With its open foreign policy, the party and state have stated that "we advocate equal and mutually-beneficial cooperation with all countries without distinction as to political or social system based on the principle of peaceful coexistence." [Footnote 1] [Proceedings of the Seventh National Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, page 88] A peaceful solution was reached on Cambodia, and the relationship between Vietnam and the other countries in this zone and the world will grow. The number of Vietnamese people going abroad to work, study, and cooperate in the various spheres will certainly increase. Because of this, party work abroad must be strengthened and renovated. In particular, the operating formulas must be renovated in accord with the new situation. Specifically:

Ideological work must be carried on in a regular, timely, active, and effective manner in order to enable the cadres, party members, and non-party members living abroad to clearly understand the country's difficult situation in today's international situation and to understand the achievements scored by our people under the leadership of the party. From this, they must have confidence in the path chosen by the party and people and have weapons to oppose the distorted arguments and propaganda of the enemy forces abroad. To satisfy these requirements, ideological and political work must be organized scientifically, tightly, and effectively. Attention must be given to providing political education

and to studying the lines and policies of the party. Above all, the resolution of the Seventh Party Congress must be studied, understood thoroughly, and implemented, and education must be provided concerning the traditions and cultural history of our nation. Each person must be imbued with love for their family, homeland, and country. Information and propaganda work must be renovated. Information must be timely, varied, and adequate and analyzed in a reasonable and guided manner appropriate for each stratum and age group.

The party base organizations must be orderly and active in every situation, maintain strict discipline, and carry on activities in accord with each location. They must adhere to the principles of party life and satisfactorily implement the system of self-criticism and criticism.

The regulations for controlling cadres and party members must be implemented strictly, and internal political security must be maintained. The measures for assigning tasks to party members must be implemented well.

Bringing together the masses must be strengthened using many forms such as an overseas Vietnamese association, an association of fellow countrymen, a students association, vocational associations, and so on in order to maintain solidarity and unity among the Vietnamese, protect the legitimate rights and maintain the safety, human dignity, and honor of the Vietnamese people, and ensure that people help each other in studying and

looking for work and in engaging in production and business activities in accord with the laws of the host country.

A timely and effective struggle must be waged against the distorted propaganda concerning our homeland and country.

Foreign party work is part of party work, but it has special characteristics. The party organizations abroad change constantly, and they must lead many targets having different political tasks. In particular, they must provide leadership and contribute to training ranks of scientific, technical, and economic cadres for the country. Thus, coordination between the party organizations abroad and the embassies and state management organizations stationed abroad must be strengthened. Things must be coordinated between the party Foreign Affairs Committee and the central echelon departments and sectors. There must be coordination between the domestic party committee echelons and the party Foreign Affairs Committee. The attention of the central echelon departments and sectors will create favorable conditions for the party Foreign Affairs Committee to complete its tasks well in the new situation.

Agriculture of the 21st Century

*0000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 92 pp 56-58*

[Article by Ha Van Thuy; not translated]

On Modern Capitalism

00000000 *Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN* in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 92 pp 59-61

[Article by Vu Hien; not translated]

The Reason Why the Soviet Union Collapsed
00000000 *Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN* in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 92 pp 62-63

[Article not translated]

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